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X881 114 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the Kina and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are so strictly silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [95] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the Kina. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

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776 Manunā́kin is popular, as is Manauanā́kin, in the sense of "the sole mighty one." BD:285 gives these words in the combination manūnāki hauan, "this is valued" /cited in English/; it has the same root as auwēn, according to BD:65 auwōn, "true, sincere, in earnest, in truth" /cited in English/, and auwōnā́ki, "the good one" /cited in English/.

Only once was Tumū́učikánaku used, "he who makes others angry and infuriates them." These words are also used by the Yamana in ordinary speech. Compare in BD:519 the expression tūmūučikāna, "cause, permit any person to učikana (BD:112), to annoy, trouble, vex by demands, requests, entreaties, etc." /cited in English/.

[761] On the occasion of a death and at a public funeral, Wḗlapatux-sēf, "the murderer up in heaven," is often used and always with strong emotion. BD:619 clearly states "wōlāpatux, cruel, murderous; acting in a manner braving danger in a reckless manner as though one could not be hurt or as one was like hard stone and invulnerable" /cited in English/.

/1047/ Finally one also finds in BD:629 "wāgunā́ki, the upper or higher one, the one above, the highest one; a term for God as 'the Highest'" /cited in English/. I did not come across this word and Bridges does not give an explanation for it anywhere. A definite contradiction should be pointed out, however. In his dictionary he lists an expression for "God" and yet for decades he denied that the Yamana had any kind of religious conception.

The above terms for the Supreme Being are variously used, depending on the given situation, but never thoughtlessly and always with conscious reference to this deity. The expressions always show more or less veneration for the deity, except for the names which the poor human being angrily uses to relieve his soul concerning his own impotence in relation to him.

195 776 Often, though not to the same extent as the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 497), our Indians use circumlocutions in place of the designations just listed. On the basis of the position occupied by Watauinḗiwa in visible creation, according to their belief, they more or less consciously connect striking events and important happenings with him as the true creator and ultimate cause. They say briefly: "This comes from above!" and use the particle kūp

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195 or kúpa. Compare BD:210, 211. This replaces the name, but
776 is clear to everyone who hears it. Calderon and other men regard this substitution as "palabra política," as a wisely calculated way of speaking, outwardly mild but actually perfectly clear and full of meaning, somewhat like a key symbol in cryptography. Out of respect they avoid addressing the Supreme Being with the customary names as much as possible. Moreover, they do not wish to
[765] hurt openly a person who is in mourning and who, if one of the customary designations were used, would be publicly shamed or reminded of the fact that the death just mentioned was sent as a punishment by Watauinéiwa. The nature of the conversation and the particular circumstances of an utterance safely prevent a misunderstanding of the circumlocution on the part of the persons present.

β. His Characteristics

776 The above names and the prayer formulas familiar to the Yamana both contribute their share to form a complete picture of the Supreme Being's uniqueness as it lives in the soul of these Fuegians. At first glance we recognize Watauinéiwa as an independent personality who is clearly distinguished from other beings of all kinds and, far removed from them, is completely independent. Watauinéiwa is a being apart; his whole nature is different from that of the other spirit-beings and even more from that of all human beings.

/1048/ We have already referred to his spirituality. For the concept "spirit" the Yamana use késpix. To them Watauinéiwa is the very great késpix who is properly, and more than other spirit-beings, a spirit in the real sense of the word. As such he is invisible and thus cannot be seen by human eyes. Repeatedly someone flies into a rage because Watauinéiwa has caused the death of a near relative, and he would like to confront him directly, but as késpix that one is inaccessible to any human being. Since he is incorporeal, no one has a perceptual idea of his person. I was emphatically told: "He does not have the body which every Yamana has down here [on earth]; he also does not die, as each

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781 often protects this or that person from lapses, but it is really be-
776 cause of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its de-
626 mands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauinéiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

781 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in
776 contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows
195 decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manunákin, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

β. Prayers of Supplication

782 The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 509) are exactly
[171] alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temáukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [24] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expec- [514] torating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the de- 847 pendence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective 844 newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed